CALIFORNIA'S UNBUILT MISSIONS

GEORGE WILLIAM BEATTIE

277.94
B38

UC
150

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/californiasunbui0000geor

California's Unbuilt Missions

"THE BEAUTIFUL SAN BERNARDINO ASISTENCIA WHICH HAS LATELY BEEN GIVEN TO SOME PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL IN SPITE OF MY PROTEST IN BEHALF OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIANS OF SAN GABRIEL."—Fr. Narciso Durán, 1837. The site now belongs to the County of San Bernardino. Restoration was begun in 1928 by the County Historical Society.

California's Unbuilt Missions

Spanish Plans for an Inland Chain

By George William Beattie

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION LIBRARY
2400 RIDGE ROAD
BERKELEY, CA 94709

ALMA COLLEGE
LIBRARY
Alma, California

Illustrated with views of the Asistencias of Santa Ysabél, San Antonio de Pala and San Bernardino, of the proposed chain, together with a map.

24961

Copyright, 1930
George William Beattie

FOREWORD

The substance of this book was embodied in a paper read before the Fortnightly Club in Redlands. In preparing the paper for publication grateful acknowledgments are made to my wife, Helen P. Beattie, for valued criticisms and revisions of the text; to Mrs. Ida Waldrop for her critical examination of my translations of Spanish manuscripts; and to Maurice S. Sullivan for advice concerning selection of material.

I am also indebted to Professor Barton Bachmann for the privilege of reproducing several of his artistic photographs; to C. C. Pierce and Miss Mary Barton for prints of great historical value; to A. E. Isham for photographs of the San Bernardino *Asistencia* taken at different stages in its restoration; to the Southwest Museum for permission to photograph certain drawings in its possession; to the Bancroft Library for photostats of manuscripts; to Miss Vicenta Alvarado and Mrs. Julia S. Fuqua for portraits of members of the Alvarado family; and to others whose names are not mentioned for suggestions and encouragement.—G. W. B.

SPANISH PLANS FOR AN INLAND CHAIN OF MISSIONS IN CALIFORNIA

The reasons for the founding of the first missions in Alta California are familiar to all of us. Chief in importance was the desire of the fathers to convert the Indians to the Christian faith. For more than a century and a half after the day in 1602 when Vizcaíno anchored in Monterey Bay, missionaries had been seeking permission to begin work in California, but in vain. The Spanish Government had other uses for its revenues, and without its approval and backing, missionaries could accomplish nothing.

By 1767, however, menacing movements in the Pacific by other nations, particularly the Russians, aroused sufficient fear among Spanish officials to spur them to action; and this fear was the decisive reason for the sending of missionaries into California. The chain of missions and presidios along our coast was the result, completing the long Spanish frontier line which, beginning on the Atlantic coast, ran across Florida and extended westward along the Gulf of Mexico, through Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and upward through California —a line which as Dr. H. E. Bolton has noted, was twice as long as the famous Rhine-Danube frontier that was held by Rome.

The development of missions in California led to marked changes in the conditions that prevailed when they were started. In their contacts with the natives, the Fathers at first had merely local problems to deal with. Indians generally might feel hostile toward the alien race that was occupying their land, but the missions in their poverty showed little to arouse cupidity. By offering food, clothing and a general improvement in living conditions, they usually won the loyalty of the Indians near them, and the savages accepted instruction in religion and the elements of civilization without objection. The missionaries launched out as opportunity permitted, and

SAN BERNARDINO ASISTENCIA OF MISSION SAN GABRIEL in 1880, as sketched by Henry Chapman Ford. The original is in the Judge Grant Jackson Collection in the Southwest Museum, and is printed by courtesy of the Museum.

established ranchos to accommodate the increasing flocks and herds, which in turn rendered possible the support of an ever growing number of neophytes. Unfortunately, the live stock became increasingly tempting to unconverted Indians, some of whom came from great distances to raid mission herds. Occasionally a neophyte became restive under mission discipline, and ran away, seeking refuge among the wild Indians of the valleys, deserts and mountains in the interior. These runaways were naturally the independent, unsubmissive and lawless characters. They had become accustomed to the superior food of the missions, and they inevitably imparted their taste for mission live stock to the wild men with whom they associated, and became guides and leaders in forays upon mission flocks and herds. Because of the ease with which horses could be driven away, horse flesh came to be preferred as food to the flesh of other mission animals. Horses were not stolen for their transporting capacities.

The runaway Indians soon became a serious menace to the progress of the missions and to the peace and welfare of the Government of California. It was to them that the wholesale stock stealing and the savage attacks on ranchos were laid. The pursuit and bringing back of runaway Indians was therefore, not so much due to a desire to hold them in subjection, (as has been charged by unfriendly critics of the mission system), as it was to ward off the evil effects of their allying themselves with unconverted Indians in raids upon mission establishments.

It became more and more apparent that the menace of the unchristianized Indians could be met only by extending the mission system inland. The Government itself was aroused to action by the growing lawlessness of runaways. Governor José Joaquin Arrillaga, who reached Monterey in 1806, was thoroughly in sympathy with the idea of civilizing and Christianizing the inland savages, and agreed heartily with the ideas the missionaries were developing, and lent his aid to their projects. The interests of both Church and State were well served during his administration.

Until the early part of the nineteenth century, little was known concerning the vast interior of California—the great

RUINS OF SAN BERNARDINO ASISTENCIA in 1887, from photograph by W. A. Vale. Trees beyond the walls are growing along the *Zanja* built by the Fathers in 1819-20 to bring water from the mountains to irrigate mission lands, on the San Bernardino Rancho. This building was begun about 1830.

Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys, and the valleys adjacent to the mountains farther south. Exploration of this great region had been discussed at the missions for some time, and Father Martín of Mission San Miguel, had led the way by penetrating, in 1804, to an Indian village on Tulare Lake, in the neighborhood of which he estimated there were 4000 souls. Later explorers discovered that the largest village of this region was called Télame, and the missionaries seem to have fixed upon it as an ideal site for a mission in the Tulare country. Until after 1818, Télame held first place in plans for advance discussed in the biennial reports of the mission authorities.

Governor Arrillaga entered promptly upon the task of exploring the interior of California in the hope of subduing the wild tribes, and of securing new subjects for Spain by the usual Spanish method of planting missions and presidios. Numerous were the expeditions that went in search of suitable sites. Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá, who followed Arrillaga in 1815, pursued Arrillaga's policy. Repeated scouting trips were made. The last of these trips under the Spanish regime was made in 1821, by Comisario-Prefecto Mariano Payéras, and Fr. José Sanchez. Their itinerary will be referred to later.

In 1810, the Mexican revolt against Spain began, and by 1813-14, its paralyzing effect upon California missions was being felt to the full. Aid to the missions was being withheld and, in addition, the burden of supporting the military establishments of California was being imposed upon them. Nevertheless, Fr. José Señan, Presidente of the California missions called attention to the opportunity still open both to Church and to State, if a mission could be established in the Tulare Valley. Fr. Señan says:

> "Although the insurrection in the kingdom and the scarcity of public funds discourage talk of new foundations, and even seem to close the door to them for the present, nevertheless, in order that the Superior Government may make suitable arrangements in future, it must be said that in the direction of Mission San Miguel there exists a bounteous harvest of four thousand souls that can be gathered within the pale of

TYPE OF PEOPLE ENTRUSTED BY THE FATHERS WITH A BRANCH MISSION. Left to right: Barbara Palomares, wife of Juan Nepomuceno Alvarado, last mayordomo at San Bernardino; Francisco, their son; Ygnacio, son of Francisco. Ygnacio was born in the mission buildings at Old San Bernardino.

the Holy Church and brought to a recognition of our sovereignty by founding a mission in the neighboring Tulare Valley. The poor natives of that region are very deserving of this favor, for when the gentiles in some other directions showed themselves scornful and disposed to run away, through love of idleness and fondness for their mountains and seashores, those in the region mentioned displayed an excellent disposition. They truly desire the establishment of a mission, and the place called Télame offers favorable conditions for its founding."[1]

In 1815, the zealous, courageous and efficient Fr. Mariano Payéras was chosen Presidente of the missions in California, and from then until his death in 1823, first as Presidente, and later as Comisario-Prefecto, he was the leading mission official here.

In his report for 1815-1816, Fr. Payéras pleads for a mission in the Tulare Valley because of the spiritual needs of the great population there of tractable natives. He strives skillfully to enlist government support by reciting the menaces to the State through stock stealing, and appeals to the pride of the Spanish King by showing how the missionaries could attract to his banner many new and loyal subjects. He writes:

"Some of the missions in the north have suffered from incursions and stock stealings of the pagan Indians of the frontier in conjunction with fugitive neophytes from the missions of their respective regions, and although these evils seem to have diminished, through the continued activity of the Government of the Province and the efforts of the Padres, it nevertheless seems an opportune time for the foundation of a mission in the Valley of the Tulares which is to the northeast of these missions from San Fernando to San José. With this measure taken, 'the bird is attacked in its nest', conquest will be advanced for Heaven, and lands and subjects secured for the State.

The place called Télame, which is in the Tulare Valley and which is distant forty-five to fifty leagues from Mission San Miguel, has been noted and examined in particular, with a view to founding a mis-

1. Santa Barbara Archives, (hereafter indicated by S. B. A.), Vol. XII, pp. 95-96. All quotations in this paper from the Santa Barbara Archives, except as noted, were supplied by courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

RUINS AT SAN BERNARDINO IN 1928 WHEN TEMPORARY ROOF WAS REMOVED
to permit reconstruction, photographed by A. E. Isham.

sion there. The pagans who live in its vicinity have been estimated at 4000 souls. It is said by such as have seen it to contain abundant water and land for maintaining a presidio and a mission.

In the year 1815 the natives of that place, [Télame], and of regions adjoining, experienced an epidemic which cost the lives of many, and in their last anguish those unhappy ones sought the water of baptism and the bread of celestial doctrine along with material bread given daily from the hands of the Padres. Although they ask eagerly that a mission be placed there we can only say, filled with grief at seeing them die, that *non erat qui frangeret eis*, because of the aforesaid distance [from us] and because of the savage and warlike tribes surrounding them, until the compassion of our Government in carrying on the glorious traditions of Catholicism shall be kind enough to cast a loving look at that spacious valley which within a distance of but little more than 100 leagues is peopled by an enormous number of Indians who will remain in subjection to the Devil and enveloped in dense clouds of idolatry until a pious Ferdinand rescues and unbinds them with an order, 'Establish in the Tulare a presidio with its accompanying missions.' When this good time comes, God will call his own and will justly condemn whoever does not wish to believe.

And returning to the subject of Télame, the additional expenditure which will be necessary for the founding of a mission there will not be great. With a few troops beyond those that are now in the Province, and with the timely help of those missions which are prompt in a sacrifice so pleasing in the sight of God and the King, the establishment can be made. As for ourselves, the missionaries, we must say in reverence for the truth that, in compliance with our Apostolic Principles, the completion in many missions of the conquest has made us lift our eyes to the unconverted souls nearest us, and on seeing in the Valley of Tulare, as those who have been in the exploring expeditions tell us, such abundant harvests now in the last stage of readiness for the reaper, we all say with anxiety to our good Ferdinand, 'Your Majesty, send us to labor in this new vineyard', and doubt not that in confirmation of the eternal truths we will with pleasure shed all our blood, if so Divine Provi-

MOLDING ROOF TILE BY HAND AT SAN BERNARDINO IN 1928
for use in restoration work, photographed by A. E. Isham.

dence dispose, in order that there may arise the germ of a new seed of Christianity, which will produce for the Church a new plant, and attract to the banner of Your Majesty an abundance of most loyal subjects."[2]

In his report as Presidente for 1817-1818, Fr. Payéras continues his argument for a chain of missions and presidios in the interior, basing his plea on a fundamental principle of the mission system—that missions were merely temporary frontier institutions, designed to *introduce* the Faith; and when this had been accomplished, missionaries should move on to new fields. Only the backward condition of the California neophytes, and the lack of secular priests, had prolonged the existence of the older missions here. We find him saying:

> "In all the coast there is hardly to be found a gentile except among those who come down from the great valley of the Tulares or descend from the mountains that lie between the valley and the coast . . .
>
> The Propagation of the Faith among the gentiles being the high aim of the missionary, and this work having ceased by reason of completion in the coast range of missions, all missionaries long for it. In various missions baptizing natives northeast of them in the land called the Tulares, has been tried, but always with a bad result, and especially so in the missions of the North, because the Tulareños are fickle to the limit—today here and tomorrow gone—not on foot, for they move only on horseback. So it is that with such guests, no live stock is safe in all the Valley of the North; and the worst of it is that after traveling with horses on the run through all the Valley of the Tulare and the mountains that surround it, they finally kill and eat the animals. The Government has not been negligent in pursuing them, but has made little progress, since immense lakes completely surrounded by green tules give them shelter, food, and secure hiding place.
>
> Hence it is that the Padres and the best informed officials consider it necessary to form in the Valley of the Tulares another chain of missions and presidios; and while the Royal Treasury would supply the funds for these expenditures in order to prevent or hinder the dangers mentioned, it seems opportune to estab-

2. S. B. A., Vol. XII, pp. 114-117.

SAN ANTONIO DE PALA ASISTENCIA OF MISSION SAN LUIS REY in 1870, from print supplied by C. C. Pierce.
Founded June 13, 1816.

lish in the intervening territory some dwelling houses for a Padre and some soldiers or settlers, which in the meantime the old missions could support.

If these ideas are not approved and if there be not made some adequate provision for correcting and holding within bounds the runaway Christians before they become incorporated with the immense gentile population of said Tulares, there will arise a situation threatening the existence of the Province, and transforming into a new Apacheria a country which until recently has been the center of tranquility."[3]

Father Payéras develops the same thought in his report as Comisario-Prefecto in 1820, when he says:

"This portion of the sons of Our Father San Francisco, . . . seeing now completed the Propagation of the Faith in their present field, which was the object that held them here with joy, desire with eagerness, notwithstanding the fact that most of them are old, broken or wearied, and therefore entitled to the rest provided for religious workers, they are eager, I repeat, to pass to other lands and spend their last days in the same, in order to maintain, at the cost of their blood if necessary, the name and deeds of missionaries of Propagation of the Faith.

Nothing was left unsaid in the report referred to, nor could I now add to it anything of consequence. I will only repeat that at the first intimation we receive from the Superior Government that it approves and adopts the plan already proposed of further conquests in the nearby Tulares, as indicated, we will be seen, with the approval, advice and help of the present Governor of the Province, making a most exact and complete examination, in order to observe and indicate the places for the new missionary operations, and with the favor of Heaven and the encouragement of the Superior Government, so Catholic and pious, these old missions contributing some articles, will found, in short, many others, in order to convert in the shortest time possible to the fold of the Church many souls, and to the Empire of Spain many subjects. Such is the common desire of these, my fellow missionaries, which God grant may be attained for the glory of God and the good of their souls."[4]

---

3. S. B. A., Vol. X, pp. 303-306.
4. S. B. A., Vol. III, pp. 144-145.

SAN ANTONIO DE PALA, CHAPEL AND BELL TOWER, from photograph by Barton Bachmann, 1930. All recent views of Pala show marks of restoration begun by the Landmarks Club about 1902.

One of the serious difficulties that confronted religious and civil authorities in California after 1810, when the revolution against Spain began, was that of replacing missionaries who died or who retired when their term of service expired. By 1820, six of the California missions had only one missionary each instead of the customary two. There was a scarcity of missionaries in both Spain and Mexico. Traveling expenses were no longer provided by the viceroy, and there was difficulty in securing a ship in which missionaries to California might be transported.

Governor Solá, as well as mission officials, urged the need of more mission helpers so strenuously that the College of San Fernando, finding itself unable to meet the demands, ceded the nine southern missions of Alta California to another missionary college at Orizaba, Mexico, and seven workers from Orizaba were at once assigned to the California field. Unfortunately, owing to dissatisfaction with arrangements made by the government, the date of their departure was delayed, and eventually they decided not to enter California at all. No old missions were ceded by the College of San Fernando until 1833, when eight northern missions were occupied by friars from the College of Zacatecas.

The Fathers in California were disappointed and dismayed at the action of their College in surrendering nine California missions without consulting them as to which ones should be given. Father Payéras, who was then Comisario-Prefecto, visited all the missions in order to consult with the Fathers. The Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College in Mexico, decided later that, owing to the feelings of these missionaries, they should have an opportunity to declare which of the California establishments should be surrendered. Thereupon, Fr. Payéras, on June 2, 1820, drew up a memorial wherein he argued that the southern missions in Alta California should be retained, and nine in the North, that is, those north of Mission San Miguel, should be ceded to the friars of Orizaba. This Memorial was sent to the missionaries and each was urged to append his own opinion and sign it.

One of the reasons offered by Fr. Payéras for transferring the northern missions was that most of the Fathers then in

SAN ANTONIO DE PALA, ENTRANCE TO CEMETERY, FRONT OF CHAPEL AND HOUSE OF THE PADRE.
Photographed by Barton Bachmann, 1930.

service were aged and infirm, could not endure the climate of the North so well as could younger men, and they would not have the strength necessary for meeting difficulties attending expansion into the interior.

Probably a more decisive reason was the fact that before writing the Memorial, Father Payéras had consulted the military authorities and had become convinced that there was no immediate prospect of the establishment by the Government of a presidio in the San Joaquin Valley.

The Memorial convinces us that by 1820 Fr. Payéras' interest had become concentrated on developments farther south where Indian hostility was less menacing. The following extracts from the Memorial throw light on his plans and on the progress that was being made. Santa Isabél, Pala, and the new establishment at San Bernardino come into the line of vision. The information had been acquired during a tour of inspection Father Payéras had made as Comisario-Prefecto, shortly before. I quote:

> "When we consider founding missions between the esteros of the aforesaid Port of Our Father San Francisco and the frontier of Santa Barbara, on the east side of the Tulares already mentioned, and to the foot of the Sierras that bound them, wherever there are suitable locations, we are confronted immediately by the disadvantage of immense handicaps, such as lack of communications with those peoples, (many of them warlike and audacious savages), and by the great distance from this coast chain of missions, which is the only hope for the support of the proposed new missions and their only source of help in case of any trouble. Under these circumstances, in order to found missions securely, a presidio, well supplied with munitions, and a large garrison of selected men would be needed. To propose this at the present time, with no further object than to found missions, seems to me time wasted.
>
> However, one thing more attainable, more easy to accomplish and less costly, seems to me that which I now propose.
>
> Between the Missions of San Buenaventura and San Fernando, in about 34½ degrees of north latitude, to the north of the first mission, and at a distance of 20 or 25 leagues, is found the 'Cajon of the

SAN ANTONIO DE PALA, ARCADE AND CEMETERY ENTRANCE.
Photographed by Barton Bachmann, 1930.

Dead,'* so called because in it the gentiles treacherously killed two soldiers. This place gives promise for a good mission, with all the things necessary—people, water, timber, and some pasture land with much land suitable for ranchos. Its communications with this chain of missions is easy, for there is already a trail for pack animals, although there are hills between [the present missions and the proposed new ones].

At a distance of 16 to 18 leagues from this place, with a plain road through all the valley to the southeast, is found the place which we call Tejon.† It lies distant from San Fernando Mission 28 leagues, over a good road. This place is much more suitable than the other place of the Cajon. There is no advantage that it does not possess. It has a good climate, and both places promise, in addition to the large spiritual harvest, an abundance of vineyards, hemp and cotton fields, and different fruits.

I claim that these foundations would be easy to establish, because the missions parallel to them in the coast chain and the regions around them are well supplied, and can render aid. Although located on the other side of the mountain range, their crops can be brought to the ports in a few days. The military company of Santa Barbara furnished the guard for the old missions near it, and with some increase in the garrison I judge that the new missions can be founded [and guarded], and more advantageously if between the two is established a pueblo of white people. According to what I have been told the locations are ample for all this.

Since, as I said, it seems easy to found missions at these two places within the jurisdiction of Santa Barbara, it will be still easier, beyond dispute, in the case of the three missions under the jurisdiction of the Presidio of San Diego.

Speaking of the undertakings of the Reverend Fathers of the three missions under the Presidio of San Diego I said [in my report to the College] that San Gabriel had established a Rancho twenty leagues to the east with the name of San Bernardino; that the location is suitable for a mission, and that in it, according to the Reverend Fathers of the said Mis-

* Castaic, near southern end of the modern Ridge Route road.
† Tejon Rancho in San Joaquin Valley.

SAN ANTONIO DE PALA, INTERIOR OF CHAPEL. Decorations by Indian artists may be seen on the walls. Photographed by Barton Bachmann, 1930.

sion are to be found all the elements for a good establishment.[5]

The Memorial of Father Payéras, as we have noted, was issued on June 2. One week later, June 9, 1820, Fathers Zalvidéa and Nuez of Mission San Gabriel, responded to Fr. Payéras with the following information:

> "In confirmation of what our Father Comisario intimated as to the rancho of this Mission, which is called San Bernardino, we have to say that with a simple invitation, which was extended to the pagans on the last day of May, to come and help in the planting which was being done at said rancho for the purpose of pleasing, attracting and winning the affection of the pagans for Christianity, in less than one month about one thousand souls have come together. They are helping to plant, and they perform other labors useful for their maintenance and subsistence."[6]

Quoting again from the Memorial, we find Fr. Payéras saying:

> "The same I say of the Mission of San Luis Rey. Between Pala and Temecula, about 8 or 9 leagues from the Mission, to the north and northeast of it, at the foot of the mountains, it has the *Rancho* of San Antonio de Pala with 1300 neophytes, whose Christian docility and joyful aspect gladden and encourage the heart.
>
> What I said of these two places, I say of Santa Ysabél, seventeen leagues to the north of the Mission San Diego.[7]

---

5. S. B. A., Vol. III, pp. 177-179.

6. S. B. A., Quoted in Engelhardt, San Gabriel, p. 112.

7. On February 2, 1818, the Comisario-Prefecto, Fr. Vicente de Sarría, after inspecting the missions reported the results of his observations to Fr. Payéras. In speaking of the missions of the south, and their exceptional development he said:

"In regard to San Diego I have to say that in the place now called Santa Ysabél, toward the mountains, there have already been counted a large number of baptized Indians, perhaps reaching two hundred, with a constant increase. A white man resides there, thus providing a shelter for the Padres who come every fifteen days. More than a year ago, these Padres requested that they be allowed to erect a chapel there. I did not decide the matter off hand, because obstacles were visible; but last year, seeing their earnest spirit, the number of their people, and that neither all, nor even many of them could come to the Mission, I told the Padres they might go there from time to time, and celebrate the Mass with a portable altar, even though their action should result in omission of the Mass on a Holy day at the Presidio. This they have done at other times, and I understood, with some fruit.

I also asked permission of the Governor for the formal erection of a chapel, although the previous year I myself advised, when the Padres requested it, that the matter should rest awhile. The Governor displayed some opposition to the petition; then he told me he would ask for information on the subject from the Comandante of San Diego. This was the situation when I left for San Francisco, expecting to talk with him about it on my arrival. Then

SANTA YSABÉL ASISTENCIA OF MISSION SAN DIEGO as sketched in 1853 by the artist of Lieutenant R. S. Williamson's surveying party seeking a route for a railroad to the Pacific. The chapel stands at the foot of the mountain on the right. It was founded September 20, 1818.

> In these three mentioned points, [that is, Santa Ysabél, Pala and San Bernardino], the respective Fathers have informed me that there are a large number of tractable natives, who on account of their considerable distance from the missions, and their unwillingness to leave their dwelling places, desire and request a mission on their own lands. Already they have in these places a temporary chapel in which to pray, storehouses, planted fields, and a house for the Padres. What then is lacking? What will be the outcome? I am persuaded that with the same arrangements that I outlined for the Presidio of Santa Barbara, that of San Diego will found the three missions, since to the three places within the mountains a helping hand will be extended, and immediately, whenever founded, the three establishments will function. It seems as though foundations more easy to make, and more useful for the development of the Province in matters spiritual and temporal, cannot be proposed.
>
> I repeat that the mother missions, with the consent of the Government and the Mission Superiors, will stand the greater part of the cost, and it will only be necessary that from the 'Pious Fund' shall be appropriated money for the things most indispensible for the churches, the house for the Padres, implements of tillage, and finally, that a sufficient number of Padres arrive."[8]

The interest of the missionaries in opening new fields in the South had been stimulated, doubtless, by the adoption in the Spanish Córtes of the famous Decree of Secularization of 1813. This decree required "that all new Reductions and Christian settlements in the provinces on the other side of the ocean, which were in charge of missionaries from Re-

---

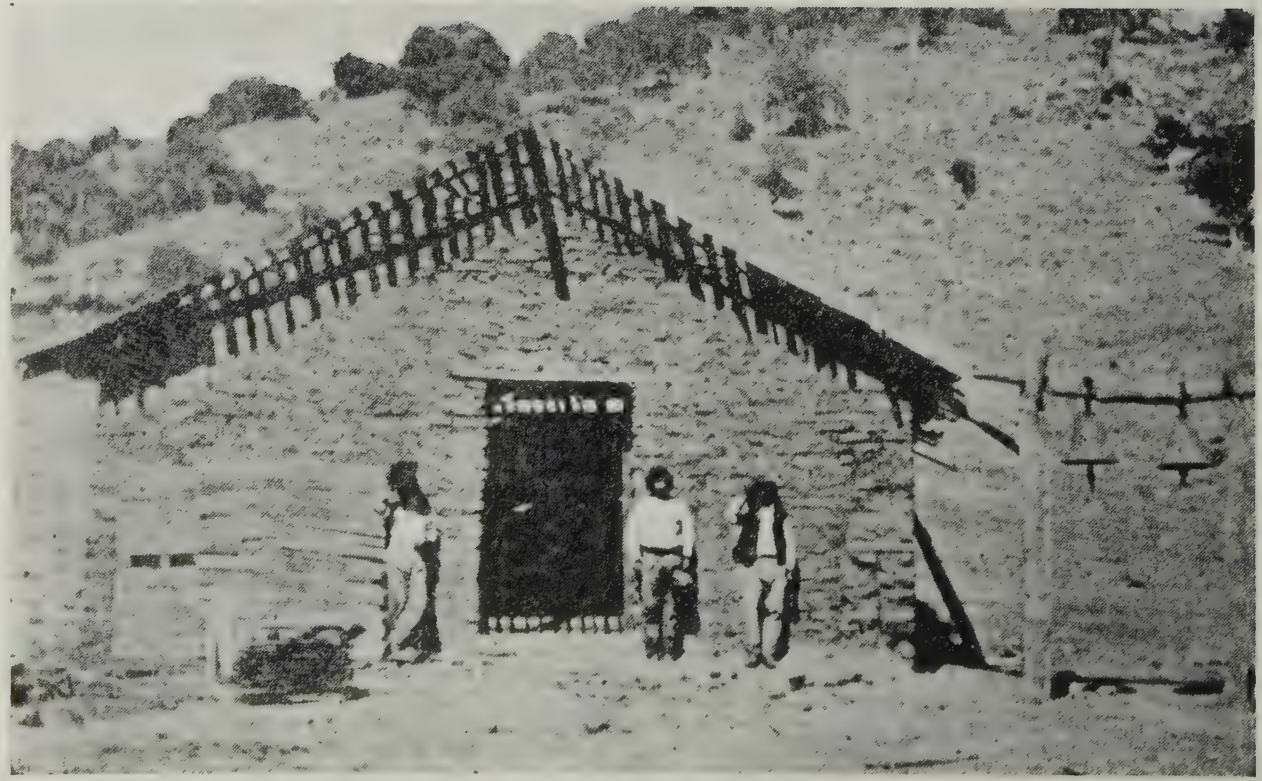
followed the period of the insurrection, [the Bouchard invasion]." S. B. A., Vol. III, pp. 113-114.

The Baptismal Record for Mission San Diego contains the following entry written by Fr. Martín:

"On September 20, 1818, in the Rancho Elcuinan, [Indian name for Santa Isabel], where a beginning is being made for a new foundation, [mission], the site having been blessed which will have to serve for a chapel in the future, after celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of Mass, I baptized solemnly, using water which I took from the font of this church of San Diego, and administering also the holy oils, the following children and adults, after they had been instructed as well as possible during a period of fourteen days." Engelhardt, San Diego, p. 169.

Commenting on the above Fr. Engelhardt says: "Sunday, September 20, 1818, may therefore be celebrated as the day on which Fr. Fernando Martín founded the Santa Isabél chapel and asistencia."

8. S. B. A., Vol. III, pp. 179-180.



SANTA YSABÉL CHAPEL in 1886, from photograph by C. B. Turrill.

ligious Orders, and which have been converted ten years, shall be immediately turned over to the respective Ordinaries." The decree also provided that "the missionaries from Religious Orders must immediately surrender the government and administration of the estates of those Indians . . the lands to be divided and reduced to individual ownership, . ." It was further ordered that "The missionaries of Religious Orders, who are relieved of the convert pueblos . . . shall apply themselves to extending Religion in other heathen places for the benefit of their inhabitants."

This law was not proclaimed in Mexico until 1820. The lack of secular priests probably would have postponed its enforcement in California indefinitely, even if Spanish sovereignty had continued. Publication of the decree may have been the immediate cause of the last expedition in search of mission sites. As we have said earlier, Fr. Payéras, accompanied by Fr. José Sanchez, had, in September, 1821, inspected recent missionary advances made within the jurisdiction of the Presidio of San Diego, with a view to locating new missions. They went from San Diego through Santa Isabél, Pala, Temecula, San Jacinto and San Bernardino, ending their tour at San Gabriel. Father Payéras even visited the region later known as Warner's Ranch. He recommended four sites for missions: Pala, then a well developed asistencia of Mission San Luis Rey, where he reported that nothing was lacking for a mission save assignment of a missionary; Santa Isabél, where he found 450 Christian Indians, and where he planted and blessed a Cross in front of the chapel door; a site between Santa Isabél and Pala which he named Guadalupe; and San Bernardino, where two years before, as we have seen, Mission San Gabriel had established a rancho and had begun work among the natives. Father Payéras found about 200 Indians at San Bernardino who had been baptized in Mission San Gabriel, and who expressed a desire to have a mission in the valley, claiming that if one were established, many more Indians would join them. He recommended the site of the present City of San Bernardino as suitable for such a mission. He reported that Mission San Gabriel had cattle grazing in the San Bernardino Valley, and commented on the *old* houses

A FRAGMENT ONLY OF THE ADOBE CHAPEL AT SANTA YSABÉL remained in 1901. In preparation for Easter Sunday that year, the Indians enclosed the remnant with an enramada, or structure of boughs. The interior was photographed by C. C. Pierce.

[at Jumuba], evidently the homes of the herdsmen, that he found a few miles west of the rancho headquarters.

A report issued in 1822 in connection with the transfer of California from Spain to Mexico is illuminating. In September, 1821, Mexico had attained her independence. General Iturbide had taken possession of the City of Mexico and Viceroy O'Donojú had resigned. Dispatches announcing the change in government reached Monterey in March, 1822, and a Council called by Governor Solá decided that allegiance should be sworn to the new government. This ceremony occurred April 11, 1822. The Supreme Government of Mexico sent Reverend Augustín Fernández de Vicente to California as a Commissioner, and he called at once for a full report on location, population, lands, products and live stock of each mission. As Comisario-Prefecto, Fr. Payéras furnished this information in a special report for 1822. It is our best source of information regarding the status of the movement for founding interior missions at the end of the Spanish period in California.[9]

The report on Mission San Diego contains the following:

> "To the east of the Mission, at a distance of nine leagues, is the Sierra Madre, on the summit of which, at a distance of seventeen leagues, is an establishment founded with permission of both authorities, State and Church, under the title of Santa Isabél, and comprising a chapel, a cemetery, and various habitations and granaries. At this establishment are 450 adults and children, instructed in the Christian Faith, baptized, domesticated as far as possible, and trained somewhat in agriculture and other suitable crafts. Within a circumference of 12 leagues in every direction are about 2000 gentiles, old and young, but quiet and peaceful—a fact I myself have witnessed. On the various occasions that I was among them, I have not observed the least excitement. Furthermore, since the said establishment was placed there, no hostile incursions have been experienced . . . From Santa Mónica, or El Cajon, to the new foundation of Santa Isabél is a distance of nine leagues. In this territory, wheat, barley, corn and beans are planted, the greater part

9. S. B. A., Vol. III, pp. 227 et seq.

EXTERIOR OF ENRAMADA AT SANTA YSABÉL, SHOWING CROSS AND BELLS.
From photograph by C. C. Pierce, in 1901.

depending on the rains, and the rest on irrigation."

The report on San Luis Rey said:

"The Mission of San Luis Rey . . . has to the east, distant eight leagues, the sierra with some pagan Indians. Of the rest of the Indians which the Mission has in that region, about 1300 souls are converted to Christianity. They are privileged to have at the foot of the sierra a chapel (by permission of the Government), and to arrange it like a mission, the title of which is San Antonio de Pala. The Christians there are well instructed in the Catholic Religion. They are disposed to obey without repugnance what the government may find expedient to command."

The report on Mission San Gabriel said:

"In the year 1819, at the request of the unchristianized Indians of the place they call Guachama and which we call San Bernardino, we began the introduction of cattle raising and farming, in order to induce the natives to become Christians . . . The project has been worth while, for it has succeeded quite well. If the natives would settle down in this region it would be much better for all concerned; for them, because they would have a fixed abode, and for us, because it would give us a means of approach to other more distant tribes, especially if we should desire later to establish a route to the Colorado. The place has an abundance of water. Of course in dry years the supply diminishes, but there is enough for irrigation . . "

This report also informs us that Mission San Gabriel was ministering to sixteen tribes of Indians to the north and east of San Bernardino, some of them ten or twelve leagues distant. Points, therefore, as far away as Victorville and the Coachella Valley lay within their field of visitation.

The appreciation of private property as a civilizing agency, and the recognition of the strategic importance of San Bernardino is shown in the part of the report which says:

"These nations are very friendly now. It is certain that some ill feeling is concealed among them, but this is not to be wondered at—The fact that anyone of them who does not own his house or even his domestic animals is covetous at the present time,

INDIAN CEMETERY AT SANTA YSABÉL AND CHAPEL IN THE BACKGROUND.
from photograph, in 1901, by C. C. Pierce.

proves to us the actual state of affairs to be thus among the sixteen [Nations]—a state of affairs which in my opinion would not have existed if a mission had been established in San Bernardino."

Fr. Narcíso Durán, who began service in 1825 as Presidente of the California missions, shows in his report for 1825-1826, that he was fully in sympathy with Fr. Payéras' ideas and plans for mission expansion. He reiterated what the late Comisario-Prefecto had stated—that there was no further work to do along the coast in introducing the Faith; he pointed to the field for work in the interior, and stressed the retarding effect on the country of neophytes mingling with pagan Indians; he urged the formation of a new chain of missions and presidios in the interior. He also sounded a new note in California mission writings when he dwelt on the advantages of colonization and the development of commerce. The restrictive policies in these matters that had prevailed during the Spanish regime were undergoing a change. He says:

"In the 228 leagues through which the missions extend, there does not remain one unconverted Indian on the western coast, but to the east, at a greater or less distance, the gentiles are innumerable. These lead irresponsible lives, not even obeying their own captains except in time of war . . . The pagans adjacent to the missions have considerable contact with some of them, but not with all, because most of the missions are distant from the abodes of the gentiles. This state of affairs calls strongly for the consideration of those concerned with the development of the Territory.

Upon this subject the Padre Presidente, [the writer], offers his opinion based on an experience of twenty years.

The first step to be taken for the future prosperity of the Territory should be the formation of a new chain of missions and presidios to the east of the present chain, in order that the neophytes of the first chain may not return to their roving and savage life. Whoever knows them will be aware of their inclination toward this kind of life, from which it follows that, although places may be shown them where they can form civilized pueblos, they easily

yield to the temptation to leave them and withdraw themselves from the control of the constituted authorities. Furthermore, the responsibilities of social life for several generations, perhaps, will be contrary to their natural character. If this new chain of missions and presidios is established, they will see themselves obliged to make a virtue of necessity.

With this advantage gained of not losing all the labor and funds already expended, another one of no less importance will follow—a rapid increase in the number of white settlers. Thus there would be formed numerous pueblos and manufacturing cities, and in course of time this Territory would become an emporium of general and extensive commerce.

For some years this development would necessitate increased expenditures from the National Treasury, but afterwards the Territory itself would be able to assume them. In my opinion if this plan be not adopted, this land will continue in the painful alternative of having to be maintained by the Supreme Government as it has been since its foundation—or of existing in misery and want, as it has since the year 1810."[10]

In 1830, the President of Mexico called on Fr. Durán for information regarding conditions in California, asking several practical questions. In answer to the query, "What could be done to improve the natives materially and induce them to become private owners of land and cultivate the same," Fr. Durán wrote:

"You will desire to know whether in the immense resources of the government there be not some way that overcomes these difficulties. With very much confidence I say that there is such a way, which in a short time will lead to prosperity not only for the neophytes, but for all the inhabitants of this Territory, as I have set forth in the biennial report for 1826. It is very plain and simple. Let twenty young men and exemplary missionaries come here, and let the troops of the four presidios receive their pay. Then let a new chain of missions and presidios be established to the east of the coast range of mountains. Then let the neophytes choose between joining the new missions, and receiving their share of the

10. S. B. A., Vol. X, pp. 308-310.

present mission property with all the rights of citizenship like the white people, and forming civilized towns or ranchos. Finally let the surplus land be divided among settlers in order to encourage colonization.

In this way the present neophytes or prospective citizens would be prevented from relapsing into savagery and paganism, because the missions to the east would gather in the rest of the pagans, and the neophytes would be constrained either to lead a civilized life in their pueblos or be returned to the tutelage of the new chain of missions, since there would be no room for a nomadic life."[11]

Notwithstanding the efforts of the mission authorities just cited—efforts supported at times by government officials, no new missions were ever founded in the great interior—the Valleys of the Sacramento and the San Joaquin or in the mountain valleys to the South. Revolution in Mexico and the lukewarmness of the new government toward missions and missionaries thwarted all efforts. Mission San Francisco Solano was established in 1823 to be sure, and the remark made by its founder when criticized for irregularity in his procedure, "I came here to convert gentiles and to establish new missions" seems to indicate that he had been inspired by the ideas of Fr. Payéras; but the mission he founded is properly included in the coast chain.

There is left for consideration little more than the final attempt to provide for a mission at San Bernardino. At the end of 1827, Father Sanchez of San Gabriel said in a report,

"Rancho of San Bernardino—The house is of adobe. It consists of one long building. It has an enramada or structure of boughs which serves for a chapel. It has also a building with compartments for keeping grain. The walls of this structure are of adobe."[12]

This was written of the rancho headquarters on the flats west of Redlands, and reveals the extent of the building operations there up to that date. Later, an extensive and impressive structure was begun on a hill one and a half miles southeast of

11. S. B. A., Quoted in Engelhardt, Missions and Missionaries, Vol. III, pp. 341-342.
12. California Archives, D. S. P., Missions, quoted in Engelhardt, San Gabriel, p. 143.

these rancho buildings. Nothing relating to the erection of this later building has been found in contemporary mission writings. No mention of it occurs until after the station was abandoned. In 1837, however, we find a reference to it that is of great significance. In September of that year Fr. Durán wrote to the Fr. Guardian of the College of San Fernando, saying:

> "If the Mexican Republic had been bred in peace . . . California at this date might have a new chain of missions in the very heart of paganism with scarcely any expense to the Government, for the requisites to found them could have been obtained from the old establishments. With this project in view, San Diego, for instance, founded the *rancho* of Santa Isabél in the interior; San Luis Rey established San Jacinto and one other station [San Antonio de Pala]; San Gabriel founded the beautiful San Bernardino asistencia, which has lately been given to some private individual in spite of my protest in behalf of the rights of the Indians of San Gabriel, and whose entire restitution I demand to the Day of Judgment.
>
> Thus all the missions would have done in their respective parallels if the times had assisted in building up instead of tearing down."[13]

This statement, of the highest mission official in California, shows conclusively that the establishment at San Bernardino with its new buildings had reached the rank of an asistencia, and was on the way to becoming a mission proper in the proposed inland chain.

Further information regarding the station at San Bernardino comes from civil records.

Francisco Alvarado, son of the last mayordomo that represented Mission San Gabriel at San Bernardino, testified in a water suit in 1876 that his father moved to San Bernardino about 1826, and with his family occupied the original adobe house on the flats; that a number of years after, a builder named Manuel came from Mexico, and began the second house of adobe on the hill; that before completing it the Indian war began, and the builder, frightened, left the country.

José del Carmen Lugo, who made his home for ten years in the uncompleted building Alvarado mentions, said to Ban-

13. Quoted in Engelhardt, Missions and Missionaries, Vol. IV, p. 107.

croft's representative when dictating his statement concerning the mission rancho at San Bernardino:

> "This rancho was almost like a mission. On it were grown large and various crops, and in the years from 1830 to 1832 a very large house, and also other buildings, were being constructed which were not completed because of the uprising of the Indians and the resultant difficulties in protecting them at so great a distance from the mission."[14]

The testimony of Alvarado and the statement by Lugo fix somewhere about 1830 as the time of the beginning of work upon the second building—the one that was to stand on what is now known as Barton Hill. Although left uncompleted by the builder the San Gabriel Fathers had employed, the walls were up and the roofs were on, for Alvarado stated that in 1842, when the Lugos secured the property, the roof on two sides of the building had fallen, but that the remainder was in good condition.

The Indian trouble that Alvarado mentions occurred in 1834. A military report to Governor Figueroa dated October 29 of that year states that,

> "The marauding Indians stole the ornaments and sacred vessels from the chapel that Mission San Gabriel had at San Bernardino, and also stole the grain set aside for feeding the neophytes."[15]

Another report says that in December, in a second attack, fourteen neophytes were killed and others were made captives.

That the new building, though uncompleted, was being used by the Mission is evident from a statement by Louis F. Cram, a trustworthy American pioneer who lived in the structure in 1854-1855.

He states that Indians were still coming to the chapel to worship while he was there.

The magnitude of the development at San Bernardino is shown by the report of the appraisers appointed by Governor Alvarado to determine the value of the mission property at the time the Lugos applied for a grant. They said:

> "Rev. Father Friar Tomás Esténaga gave us a person to show us the buildings pertaining to the establishment . . . and in it there were shown to us

14. Vida de Un Ranchero, José del Carmen Lugo, Mss., Bancroft Library.
15. D. S. P., Vol. III, pp. 758-761.

by the person sent, on a mesa, some walls which form fourteen rooms and a back corral, one tile kiln, and a lime kiln, and a ditch for irrigation, [The Zanja]."

The buildings here mentioned were those that Mission San Gabriel had begun on the hill. The inspection of these ruins ended, the appraisers say:

> "After examining these, he showed us lower down than the first, three rooms and a grist mill in ruins. We observed that no room is roofed and all are somewhat dilapidated. This is everything belonging to the Mission which exists there . . . These buildings being abandoned cannot have at this time the value they would otherwise possess, and could only be repaired by the expenditure of much labor."[16]

The stations, Santa Isabél, San Antonio de Pala, and San Bernardino have all been referred to as *ranchos* in the documents I have been quoting. Ranchos of the missions were numerous. San Gabriel alone, according to Duflot de Mofras, had thirty-one of them. They usually had nothing in the way of improvements beyond corrals to enclose the live stock and brush huts or *jacals* in which the Indian herdsmen lived; but Santa Isabél, Pala, and San Bernardino were very different from the other ranchos, inasmuch as on them schools for instruction in religion and the arts of civilization were maintained.

These three mission-stations have often been referred to mistakenly as missions, though they never attained higher status than that of asistencias. For example, in 1841, Manuel Jimeno, Acting Governor of California, replied to an applicant who as a private individual had petitioned for a grant of Yucaipa—a mission rancho adjoining San Bernardino—saying,

> "The request of the petitioner has not been approved because this land is included in that of the *Mission* San Bernardino, and only as a colony can it be occupied."[17]

Commenting on an application for a grant of Santa Isabél, Fr. Vicente Pascuál Oliva in May, 1839, wrote to the Prefect of the South,

16. Transcript of Proceedings before California Land Commission in re. San Bernardino Rancho, Case No. 316. General Land Office, Washington, D. C.
17. Expediente in re. Application for Yucaipa, U. S. Public Survey Office, San Francisco, California.

"The place Santa Isabél is not . . . vacant land, as the solicitor says in his petition. It is a *mission* with a church, a cemetery, and all the requisites of a civilized pueblo. If the Padre does not reside there, it is owing to the scarcity and lack of priests. The natives of said *mission* have their fields on which they cultivate wheat, barley, corn, beans, horse-beans, peas, and other seeds for their maintenance, besides keeping two vineyards and their horses. During the summer, the lands will be occupied by their sheep. In a settlement of that nature no private party may enter. If the Government should cede this land to the solicitor, whither would its inhabitants, 580 souls, be banished?"[18]

We have already seen from the diary of Fr. José Sanchez that San Antonio de Pala would have been made a regular mission in 1821, if a priest had been available. It is evident that San Bernardino and Santa Isabél were also in the way of becoming units of the inner chain, and their progress was halted only by the succession of events that stopped all mission activity in California.

18. S. B. A., quoted in Engelhardt, San Diego, pp. 238-239.

24961